1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

846 For a whole month after the birth of a child, most people will not enter the courtyard. This tabu applies not only to the room occupied by the woman and child, but to the whole courtyard and contact with the whole family. During this month the mother lives principally on a thin gruel of millet (*mi-t'ang*). The period of seclusion is twenty-nine days after the birth of a boy and thirty days after the birth of a girl. During this period the mother should not go outside of the courtyard to draw water from the well, and she is not allowed to touch religious objects. Among poor people, where the mother cannot afford to be completely idle for a whole month, she begins to do a little household work after three days.

Every three days the mother washes herself with a concoction of cypress twigs, a Tibetan custom, and the child with a concoction of pepper, which is a Chinese custom. The mother puts under the head of her child a small pillow stuffed with dried peas, in order that the child's head may grow perfectly round, and she rubs the child's head several times a day for the same reason. On [302] the twentieth day the child's head is shaved. The mother also constantly pulls the lobes of the child's ears in order that they may grow long and pendulous.[26] A round head, long ear lobes and small, fine hands are the most important criteria of beauty and an omen of good fortune in life.

On the third day after the birth of the child the father, dressed in his best and carrying a bottle of wine and a *khatag* or scarf of felicity goes to announce the happy news to his wife's family. When he enters their room, he asks for a cup, pours wine, and offers the cup t his wife's parents and her maternal uncles; he then bows, makes a prostration, and formally announces the sex of the child and the fact that mother and child are doing well, and invites his relatives-in-law to pay a visit. On the same day the mother-in-law comes to see her grandchild and to congratulate her daughter, bringing with her a present of some millet and some money. On the seventh day the father consults a lama of the Red Hat sect and asks him to foretell the fortune of the child by divination. On the twentieth day (the same day that the child's head is shaved), the father pays another visit to his wife's parents, again with wine and a scarf of felicity, and formally invites them and the maternal uncles to take part in festivities on the twenty-ninth or thirtieth day, according to the sex of the child.

NAME-GIVING

553 851 If the child is a boy, he is given his name on the twenty-ninth day, before the guests arrive. The father, in his best clothes, goes to the room of the grandfather

[26] In the most ancient Buddhist iconography Buddha as a young prince, before he turned to religion, was represented with heavy earrings that dragged down the lobes of his ears. In later representations of Buddha as a divinity, the ear rings have disappeared but the deformed lobes remain. Hence pendulous ear lobes are regarded as "Buddha-like."—O. L.

[P. 1006]

553 taking with him a bottle of wine, a scarf of felicity, and
851 two hundred copper cash strung on a red cord to which a flock of wool is attached. He prostrates himself nine times and invites the grandfather to name the child. The grandfather is seated on the *k'ang* in all his dignity, and the whole family is gathered in the room. The mother, cradling the child in her arms and her eyes wet with tears stands before the grandfather with her husband at her side. The father ceremoniously lays the scarf of felicity across the outstretched hands of the grandfather, and presents a cup of wine. Father and mother prostrate themselves nine times, and the mother then asks the grandfather to bestow on the child a name of good omen. This is the first time that the grandfather has seen the child. Looking like the living image of ancestral pride, he solemnly confers a name and makes the mother a present of a few pierced copper cash—always an even number. He then takes his grandson in his arms and kisses him and the child is then passed on to all the other members of the family who embrace him in the same way, joyfully congratulating the father and mother.

608 In families where there are few children or where a
851 number of children have died in infancy, it is common to invite the head of a family that is blessed with many
553 children to name the child, thus passing on the "luck" of his own fertile family. This custom is of Chinese origin as is the custom, in poor families, of inviting a rich and respected man to preside at the name-giving ceremony, thus becoming the *kan-fu* or "dry father" (a Chinese term) of the child. This relationship somewhat resembles that of an adoptive father, and the child throughout his life is considered to be in some way related to the family of his "dry father." At the New Year and other important festivals he will always visit his "dry father," showing him much the same kind of affection and respect that he shows to his maternal uncle. The "dry father" keeps up a protective interest in the child and can be expected to help in such things as arranging his marriage; but the relationship is not one of full adoption, in which the child is actually taken into the adopting family.

553 Boys are frequently given the Tibetan names of lamaistic deities or the Chinese names of Taoist deities, or names such as "Longevity," "Felicity," "Peace," "Prosperity," "Strength," "Lion," or "Tiger." (The Tibetan neighbors of the Monguors usually go to a lama of the Red Hat sect to ask him to name a boy according to the character indicated by his horoscope.) Girls are given the names of lamaistic or Taoist female divinities or the names of flowers.

Many children, both boys and girls, are given a name that records the age of their father's mother when they were born, such as "sixty," or "sixty-five." The name of the father's father is given in this way only if the father's mother is no longer living. Among the Chinese of this region, on the other hand, a child is fre-

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

553 quently named according to the age of the grandfather but never according to the age of the grandmother. Among the Manchus, the child is not named until it is a full year old, and it is customary to give the first son the name of the oldest son of the father's oldest brother.[27]

553 608 When, as described above, a man is invited to act as "dry father," the name that he gives to a boy as a personal name is his own clan name, combined with the Chinese words *chia pao*, so that the child is known as Lichiapao or Machiapao, "Protected by the Li family," or "Protected by the Ma family." In an analogous way, if an influential man has visited the family about the time when the boy was born, his name may be given to the boy.[28]

553 Sometimes in a poor family the mother will take her son in her arms on the twenty-ninth day and go out to the highway where she will prostrate herself before the first traveler she meets and ask him to give his name to the boy. In such cases, it is good luck if the mother meets an influential person. I myself was once riding on a journey when a woman with a child in her arms prostrated herself before me in this manner. She was a woman who had seen me before and recognized me. Turning her smiling face up to me and with a light in her eyes she said "Are you not the Father? Today I am a happy mother; I will name my child Shenfupao—Protected by the Priest." This custom, it should be noted, is never followed in the case of a first-born son.

While living among the Monguors I never heard names describing bodily deformities, nor names such as Five Pounds, or Seven Pounds, recording the weight of the child at birth, or Big Horse, Second Mule, Small Cow. Such names are used by the Chinese of this region, but not by the Monguors. On the other hand, both Monguors and Chinese sometimes give names such as Bad Son, Whom the Dogs Will Not Eat, Monstrous Boy, Monstrous Girl. Such names are intended to deceive the evil spirits, so that they will pass by the "Bad Boy" and choose some other victim.[29]

553 851 The actual giving of the name, as already described, takes place in the privacy of the father's extended family, without the presence of the mother's relatives or other guests. The mother's parents and her maternal uncles arrive about noon, and at the same time representatives of each family in the village come to take part in the festivities. Tea is first served and then the father and the mother with her child in her arms prostrate themselves nine times before the whole gathering while the mother says "The boy is paying homage."

---

[27] Shirokogoroff, *Social organization of the Manchus*, as cited, 119.

[28] Thus Chingis Khan was given the name of Temujin, after an important prisoner whom his father had captured at the time he was born.—O. L.

[29] This practice among the Monguors may not be due solely to Chinese influence. Among the Western Mongols, especially the Torguts of the Altai, who are remote from Chinese influence, it is also very common to give names of this kind.—O. L.

[p. 1016]

553 851 When the child has been admired and the parents congratulated, the mother's mother presents her with sixteen loaves of steamed bread, four loaves baked in oil, a leg of mutton, and some clothes—a gown, a pair of trousers, or a jacket. The costliness of the clothes varies according to the wealth of the family. The mother's mother also presents the boy with a complete suit of clothes and a fine cap. A special custom, the significance of which I was unable to discover, is that the family of the father's mother and the family of the mother's mother each present the midwife with a piece of red cotton cloth four feet long.

431 553 851 A practical present from a guest to the young mother is 100 pierced copper cash on a red cord, or a four foot piece of red or green cotton cloth. Another common gift is an embroidered cap for the boy, or, following Chinese custom, a "long life lock"—a small brass lock hung around the boy's neck. Rich families are frequently given scrolls with Chinese texts inscribed on them. The boy's maternal uncle gives him "flowers of long life"—a pair of earrings, each studded with a small flower. The boy wears these in childhood and when he grows up he buys himself a larger pair. These earrings are supposed to insure him a long life.

When the presents have been given the father of the child offers wine to each guest, beginning with the child's maternal uncles, and to each guest, as the wine is offered, the mother prostrates herself with the child in her arms and says "The boy prostrates himself and thanks you."

FEAST IN THE VILLAGE

553 527 851 A merry crowd of village youngsters then leads into the courtyard a cow whose horns have been painted red and decorated with flowers. A red-painted bell hangs around the cow's neck, and she is saddled with a fine saddle and a bright saddle-rug. The grandfather is invited by the youngsters to ride on the cow, and willy nilly he has to accept this invitation. The youngsters help him up to the saddle and then hold the child up for him to take it in his arms. The cow is then led in triumph through the village, two banners from the temple at the head of the procession, drums beating and all the guests following the cow and its rider. When they return to the courtyard, the grandfather offers the young people two bottles of wine, two legs of mutton, and bowls of noodles and wheat fried in butter. This part of the entertainment is noisy and merry.

If the father's father is no longer living, it is the father's mother who has to make the triumphal ride on the cow. Otherwise the father's mother's share of the ceremonies consists in presenting to the mother of her daughter-in-law two loaves of bread, two strings of pierced copper cash, and a scarf of felicity. As she does so, she bows, presents a cup of wine, and thanks her daughter-in-law's mother for accepting the invitation to the feast and wishes her joy and happiness.

Up to this point the whole village has taken part in

[P.102a]

1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

553 851 527

the festivities, except for the herdsmen and shepherds who are out in the hills. They must not be overlooked, however, for the tradition of the nomadic past of the Monguors assures them a part. When the sun is deep in the west, therefore, the father and mother take their child and go out to a place beyond the village, which has been previously agreed upon. The father takes with him a bottle of wine and twelve rolls of bread, eight of which are to be distributed to passers-by met along the road and four to be given to the shepherds.

The shepherds have woven a long girdle for the child from wool as white as snow, and this they present to the child. They also have with them some copper coins, and these they place kindly on the milk-swollen breast of the happy mother. They crowd around to see the child and pat its soft cheeks with their rough and calloused hands. When they congratulate the mother, they present her with a small bundle of whitest wool, plucked from the backs of young sheep, saying "This wool has been gathered from the backs of hundreds of the most beautiful sheep; may your boy grow up to shear the wool of hundreds of sheep and may he have hundreds of horses to ride." The four rolls of bread are then presented to the shepherds, together with a cup of wine and some copper coins for each man. The mother invites the shepherds to dinner, the herds are driven to their stalls, and the shepherds dine and make merry all night in the courtyard.

I have often seen this simple, pastoral, and idyllic spectacle outside the village at sundown, the happy parents, the faithful shepherds, and the flocks and herds around them making a wonderful picture that recalls the past of centuries ago when the Monguors were a pastoral people. Even the traditional words of greeting and congratulation used by the shepherds are an echo of this nomadic past.

All the details that I have described emphasize the importance attached by the Monguors to the birth of a boy who will grow up to sacrifice to the ancestors and be himself a new link in the ancestral chain. The ceremonies are observed in full, as I have described them, only for the first son of each daughter-in-law in the extended family. For younger sons and for girls all that is required is that the grandfather give a name and that the parents and maternal uncles of the mother be invited. In poor families, of course, the celebration is less elaborate; but well to do families often help their poorer neighbors with the expenses of a feast for the first-born son.

DEDICATION OF THE CHILD TO THE SPIRITS

852

When a family has few children, or has had several children die, a child is often dedicated to some particular spirit. The dedication is seldom done for a first boy in good health. Very seldom is the child dedicated to a deity of the lama-Buddhist pantheon, for in that case the boy is supposed to have to become a lama later.

[620]

IV. Customs concerning the Human Being

• See "Notes," p. 622 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

Soon after the birth of a child one makes the happy event known to the family of the mother of the woman in childbed. The mother then comes to visit her daughter. The other relatives, however, come only after one month. They bring gifts and hold a feast. On the morning of this day the child is solemnly given a name, and in the evening it is brought before the gate of the yard for the reception of the shepherd. Then there is singing and drinking and dancing into the night.

Details

Birth announcement: Three days after the birth of a boy or girl, the father-in-law of the woman in childbed takes a little jug of liquor and some oil-baking and goes to the family of his daughter-in-law. It is immediately apparent why he has come to visit, and he need only tell the day and the hour of birth and whether it is a boy or girl. After they have drunk the liquor, the mother goes directly to her daughter in order to take care of what needs to be done. She stays there a few days and then often repeats her visit.

Conclusion of the confinement: Exactly 29 days after the birth, in other words, on the thirtieth day, the parents and nearest relatives of the woman in childbed appear at her husband's house. They bring clothing for the child [621] and the woman (a long upper garment and shoes) and, further, four large loaves of bread, oil-cakes, and other baked goods. The

[633 cont.]

778
796

[Note on foreign text pp. 634-635 cont.] The informant once mentioned a kind of baptism at which the džawdzi (Tib.) is prayed; in Chinese this prayer is called hsi-lien-ching, prayer of washing the face. Evidently the [635] ceremony observed by Filchner was such a boy's baptism; Om mani padme hum, loc. cit. Later there follows a second consecration for young people, which is called gãńsgur (Tib.) (6) [see Note 6 below] after the corresponding prayer, in Chinese san-hun ching, prayer of the three souls. So the informant told me. Unfortunately I could no longer record these ceremonies.

851
527

192

Word List

778
888 Age-consecration: šge lama ndziala- = great lama-invitation.

527 Master of ceremonies: kāńguo.

To fetch the hutukhtu: ġdzō niwa (twice) (or dãńwu, if the first time).

601 Mother's brother: nēgā; achiu (Chin.); ayãń.

Mother's brother's son: ku-chiu (Chin.).

292 Sash: ġēdzān (Tib. loanword) (6).

6. [Foreign text p. 635.] gēdzān: Tibetan gazn = the yellow sash of the lama costume. -- gõńsõn: Tib. dgoń = solitude, soń = to go away; meaning, "to go into solitude." -- gēlõńba: Tib. dge = virtue, sloń = to apply oneself, pa = belonging to; meaning, "one who applies himself to virtue." -- gesnien: Tib. dge = virtue, bsñen = to approach. -- gãńsgur:

785

852

852 CEREMONIAL DURING INFANCY AND CHILDHOOD--rites of passage prior to puberty; maturation ceremonies (e.g., at first step, at first tooth); rites associated with cutting of hair, ear piercing, and circumcision; ceremonies correlated with achievements (e.g., first animal killed, first cloth woven); adult guidance and sponsorship; participation of children in adult ceremonies (e.g., Christmas); etc. See also:

Mutilation 304
Birthdays 527
Naming ceremonies 583
Artificial kin relationships 608
Baptism and confirmation 795, 851
Religious ceremonial 796

1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

553 851 527 the festivities, except for the herdsmen and shepherds who are out in the hills. They must not be overlooked, however, for the tradition of the nomadic past of the Monguors assures them a part. When the sun is deep in the west, therefore, the father and mother take their child and go out to a place beyond the village, which has been previously agreed upon. The father takes with him a bottle of wine and twelve rolls of bread, eight of which are to be distributed to passers-by met along the road and four to be given to the shepherds.

The shepherds have woven a long girdle for the child from wool as white as snow, and this they present to the child. They also have with them some copper coins, and these they place kindly on the milk-swollen breast of the happy mother. They crowd around to see the child and pat its soft cheeks with their rough and calloused hands. When they congratulate the mother, they present her with a small bundle of whitest wool, plucked from the backs of young sheep, saying "This wool has been gathered from the backs of hundreds of the most beautiful sheep; may your boy grow up to shear the wool of hundreds of sheep and may he have hundreds of horses to ride." The four rolls of bread are then presented to the shepherds, together with a cup of wine and some copper coins for each man. The mother invites the shepherds to dinner, the herds are driven to their stalls, and the shepherds dine and make merry all night in the courtyard.

I have often seen this simple, pastoral, and idyllic spectacle outside the village at sundown, the happy parents, the faithful shepherds, and the flocks and herds around them making a wonderful picture that recalls the past of centuries ago when the Monguors were a pastoral people. Even the traditional words of greeting and congratulation used by the shepherds are an echo of this nomadic past.

All the details that I have described emphasize the importance attached by the Monguors to the birth of a boy who will grow up to sacrifice to the ancestors and be himself a new link in the ancestral chain. The ceremonies are observed in full, as I have described them, only for the first son of each daughter-in-law in the extended family. For younger sons and for girls all that is required is that the grandfather give a name and that the parents and maternal uncles of the mother be invited. In poor families, of course, the celebration is less elaborate; but well to do families often help their poorer neighbors with the expenses of a feast for the first-born son.

DEDICATION OF THE CHILD TO THE SPIRITS

● 852 When a family has few children, or has had several children die, a child is often dedicated to some particular spirit. The dedication is seldom done for a first boy in good health. Very seldom is the child dedicated to a deity of the lama-Buddhist pantheon, for in that case the boy is supposed to have to become a lama later.

852 A first-born sick child, the future head of a new family, is never dedicated to such spirits. Usually the child is dedicated to one of the Taoist spirits whose statues are honored in the temple of the village, or to the twelve Tengris of the shamans. The shaman, accordingly, is the usual performer of the ceremony, which is most often carried out in the village temple, but may be enacted at home, in which case the shaman is invited to bring with him the picture of the deity to which the child is to be dedicated. In the case of a son the ceremony is performed when he is twenty-nine days old, in the case of a girl when she is thirty days old.

The child is taken to the temple. Thirteen rolls of steamed bread are offered to the spirit and a piece of red cotton cloth five feet in length is hung on the statue of the deity while incense and boughs of cypress are burned before the statue. The shaman then takes from the statue a piece of cloth which had been previously offered in a similar ceremony, tears a strip from it and wraps it around the neck of the child. He then prays for a while, sitting with his legs crossed under him, beating his shaman drum, and then ties knots in the strip of cloth. Then he takes a loop of the rope used at the religious ceremony of the spring festival. This rope is made up of small loops of hemp around which the spirits are supposed to have descended from heaven to bless the community. It is therefore a sacred and powerful talisman. The loop of rope is covered with a tightly sewn cover of red cotton cloth. It is taken from the statue and attached to the neck of the child with a red cord. This loop of rope has the Chinese name *malu sheng* or "the rope of the highway." Some people fasten the two ends of the loop with a "lock of longevity" carved from peach wood.[30] When such a lock is used, a small arrow, made of willow wood, is sewn in a cover of red cotton cloth and attached to the back of the child's clothes. The use of the lock and the arrow is Chinese in origin and is intended to increase the effectiveness of the shamanistic rites for protection from evil spirits.

If the parents still have doubts and are not satisfied with the effectiveness of the rites that have been performed, they may take some hair from a white dog, wrap it in red cotton cloth folded in a triangle, and sew it under the child's armpit; for a dog does not die easily, and by sympathetic magic it is hoped that the child will be resistant to death. Other people wrap a clove of garlic in the same way, because the smell of garlic drives away evil spirits. Another talisman is made by taking a piece of paper which has been soaked in blood taken from a vein in the arm of a shaman while he was in a trance (as happens at the spring observances) wrapped and sewn in the same way. This is considered the most efficient of all talismans.

The loop of the "rope of the highway" is worn for five, seven, nine, or thirteen years, and during the whole of

[30] The peach is itself one of the Chinese symbols of longevity. —O. L.

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

852 this time the child is considered to be dedicated to the tutelary spirit. During these years the child's head may not be shaved; though some people shave everything except the crown of the head, where the hair is allowed to grow and is braided in a "pigtail."

At about the age of thirteen, when the child is supposed to have passed successfully the dangerous years of infancy, it can be released from its "dedication"; but this requires a special ceremony, because in theory the intention is supposed to have been to dedicate the child to the deity for the whole of its life.

The ceremony of release, like the ceremony of dedication, is performed by shamans. The ceremony—which is never omitted, for fear that misfortune may overtake the child—must be performed either at the temple or at the home of the shaman, in the presence of the picture or the statue of the deity to which the child is dedicated.

The father goes to the temple with the boy and some friends. He offers thirteen rolls of steamed bread on the altar of the deity, a whole piece of red cotton cloth, and three strings of coins. He also takes to the temple a cock, a winnowing basket, a red rope five or seven yards in length, a comb, a small broom, a roll of bread, and a pair of scissors. The shaman ties one end of the rope to the statue and the other to the neck of the boy. Sitting cross-legged, he beats his drum and prays, while all those present kneel on the ground. The shaman then cuts the rope with the scissors, close to where it is tied to the statue. He takes the loose end made by the cut and ties it around the neck of the cock. He then cuts a tuft of hair from the boy, combs it, and puts it in the winnowing basket with the broom. The loaf of bread and the scissors are also placed in the basket.

One of those who has accompanied the father to the temple then takes the basket; another carries the cock, which is still attached by the red rope to the boy, and starts toward the boy's home, with the boy walking on the left side of the man who is carrying the cock. The whole of the way home the man carrying the basket repeatedly cries out at the top of his voice, calling the name of the boy: "Boy So-and-So, did he come home?" The man carrying the cock replies in the same loud voice "Yes, he is here," at the same time teasing and stirring up the cock to make it crow. When they reach the gate into the family courtyard the whole group stand for awhile repeating the same question and response. Finally they enter the courtyard where the whole family, all in their best clothes, are drawn up as if they were waiting for a distinguished guest. They bow and congratulate the boy as if he had come from a great distance, and lead him to the main room. Here the rope is untied and the cock is released in the courtyard.

The boy is seated on the *k'ang*, where he behaves as if he were a distinguished guest, drinking tea and eating some of the bread brought home in the basket. Then the rope by which he had been tied to the cock, which is still around his neck, is untied and all the talismans

[P. 103 b]

852 that had been sewn in his clothing during the period of his "dedication" are taken and placed in the winnowing basket. The contents of the basket are put at the place on the *k'ang* where the boy sleeps, and covered with the basket, upside down. The boy's head is then shaved, and he is free. A dinner follows, for all who took part in the ceremony.

On the third day after the ceremony the contents of the basket are taken away and buried in a far off, hidden place. The cock is allowed to grow old. He may not be killed, and when he dies may not be eaten. He is known as "the cock of longevity," and is treated in the same way as sacred or dedicated animals.

Girls dedicated to a tutelary spirit are liberated in the same way as boys. Most children, when they are liberated, are given back the name that they were given at birth. In addition to children who are "dedicated" in this way when they are very small, as a protective measure, children are frequently "dedicated" when they fall seriously ill.

The importance of the "cock of longevity" is illustrated by the following story. A boy of the Ngao family threw a stone and accidentally killed a "cock of longevity" belonging to the Li family. The incident threatened to become of life and death importance, because the life of a boy in the Li family depended on the cock, and the Li family was prepared to bring suit before the Li T'u-ssu, the chief of the clan. The village elders, however, proposed settlement of the incident by compromise. At a public meeting on the village threshing floor, attended by the whole community, old and young, men and women, boys and girls, it was decided to abide by the decision of an old and experienced shaman who was requested to think of a way to save the life of the Li boy. His solution was that a new cock was to be provided and a bolt of red cotton cloth offered to the tutelary deity, while he, as shaman, would say prayers in expiation of the outrage. In addition, the elders ordered the Ngao family to defray all expenses, to make an apology to the Li family, and to bring the Li family as an offering a sheep with horns adorned with a piece of red cotton cloth, while fire crackers were to be set off at the entrance to the Li family courtyard and within the courtyard.

In families where there are few children or where one of the children has been dedicated to a deity, a lovely and naive ceremony can be seen. On the sixth or seventh birthday of the boy for whom the ceremony is to be performed, the parents invite a lama of the Yellow Hat sect to say the "prayers for a peaceful life" on his behalf. These prayers are said in the early morning. Later in the day the boy's maternal uncle, some of the oldest men of the village, and the members of the family are invited to a dinner for which a sheep has been specially slaughtered. The boy, guided by one of his brothers (a person of the same generation is required, but

852 may be either a real brother or a classificatory brother) is introduced to the guests. He takes a taper sputtering in vegetable oil, lights a lamp with it, and carries the lamp into the courtyard, offers it to Heaven, and all the spirits, burns boughs of cypress, and, accompanied by his brother, makes nine prostrations to Heaven and all the spirits. Returning to the main room, he makes the same offerings and prostrations to his tutelary spirit.

The boy then pours wine for each of the guests, beginning with his maternal uncle, inviting them to drink and be happy. Noodles are then served to all, but the boy's own bowl is only partly filled, in order to allow each of the guests to put some of his noodles in the boy's bowl, congratulating him cordially and wishing him a long and happy life. The significance of this part of the ceremony is that the longevity of the old men present is supposed to be conferred upon the boy, assuring him a long life. I was fortunate enough to witness this simple and wonderful rite and was delighted to see how the old men carried it out in a manner imbued with religious feeling and kindliness.

778 755 Parents who do not "dedicate" a child also protect them with talismans. If they go to a lama, he will write a Tibetan prayer which he wraps in red cotton cloth to be hung around the neck of the child with a thin cord. At night it must be hung on a nail on the wall. If the child forgets to take it off and hang it up, it is considered to have been defiled and must be purified in the smoke of cypress boughs in order to restore its efficacy. If they go to a Chinese Taoist priest, he will write the Chinese character for "longevity" on a sheet of paper, adding a cabalistic design. The paper is then wrapped in red cotton cloth, folded in a triangle, and sewed on the back of the child's clothes. Either a lama or a Taoist priest will perform this service in return for a small present.

858 Respect for the lives of children is deeply rooted in the patrilineal family system. The rare instances of infanticide that I noted in my earlier study, *Le mariage chez les T'u-jen* (p. 105) are due to the influence of the Chinese, among whom this practice is not unusual. Among the Monguors, children are the golden threads interwoven in the fabric of life. A mother is bound by her love for her children and rarely leaves her hearth to live with another man. Her orientation toward her children is fortified by the respect for family obligations in which she herself has been brought up. Mothers who are unable to suckle their children easily find another woman in the village who will act as wet nurse. If a mother dies leaving young children, everyone is willing to help take care of them. When a child is sick, the whole village is in a hustle and bustle to try to help save its life, and when a child dies the consternation and sorrow are general and real. The religious observances on behalf of sick children will be discussed in a future work on the religious life of the Monguors. [P. 1046]

[50 cont.]
777 always inside the house. In such a case the arrow is not made or
*778 consecrated by a lama or Bon priest (3).

3. [Foreign text p. 52.] For the preparation of the urn, cf. the section: "The Earth-god Urn."

Attachments: Always and in all cases hadas and sheep wool are attached to the arrow. If the arrow is consecrated, a small copper mirror is usually also attached to it. -- When
[237 432] an animal is sold or given away, some of its hair is tied to the arrow, as in the case of horses, donkeys, and mules. The hair is taken from the mane or tail. Similarly, when a sheep is sold some wool is also tied on. Hog bristles, however, may never be tied to the arrow of good fortune. -- After a child's first haircut,
[302 852] on the first birthday, the downy hairs that have been cut off are rolled into a little ball, and a thread is drawn out of it, with which the ball is tied to the arrow; similarly the bow and arrow that the child seized as an oracle on this occasion is tied to it. -- When a daughter is married, a number of small strips of cloth
[585] are cut from the seam of her bridal [51] dress for the arrow. Also some hair of the bride, which was combed out during the hair-dressing and adornment on the eve of her being taken away, is carefully collected and attached to the arrow of good fortune (4).

4. [Foreign text pp. 52-53.] The fact that sheep wool is always attached to the arrow, as to the obo, seems to be connected with the sheep of good fortune; cf. below. F. Lessing (Yung Ho Kung, p. 148) would like to connect the little balls of wool (cotton) with the thread figures (mdos), which hold fast the demons. -- Occasionally, silk threads in the five sacred colors are also added. Hair

[620]

IV. Customs concerning the Human Being

* See "Notes," p. 622 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

Soon after the birth of a child one makes the happy event known to the family of the mother of the woman in childbed. The mother then comes to visit her daughter. The other relatives, however, come only after one month. They bring gifts and hold a feast. On the morning of this day the child is solemnly given a name, and in the evening it is brought before the gate of the yard for the reception of the shepherd. Then there is singing and drinking and dancing into the night.

Details

Birth announcement: Three days after the birth of a boy or girl, the father-in-law of the woman in childbed takes a little jug of liquor and some oil-baking and goes to the family of his daughter-in-law. It is immediately apparent why he has come to visit, and he need only tell the day and the hour of birth and whether it is a boy or girl. After they have drunk the liquor, the mother goes directly to her daughter in order to take care of what needs to be done. She stays there a few days and then often repeats her visit.

Conclusion of the confinement: Exactly 29 days after the birth, in other words, on the thirtieth day, the parents and nearest relatives of the woman in childbed appear at her husband's house. They bring clothing for the child [621] and the woman (a long upper garment and shoes) and, further, four large loaves of bread, oil-cakes, and other baked goods. The

[621 cont.]

553
592
792

4. [Foreign text p. 622.] A lama can also perform the ceremony. This is rarely done, however. Usually the father or kin-group elder does it.

is never a woman or a relative from the family of the woman in childbed.

Following the name-giving or in the course of the day, the mother with the child in her arms must kowtow to all the guests; for this she receives a small gift of money for the child. -- Towards noon the family holds a general feast, for men and women separately. On this occasion much barley wine is drunk, and there is singing and dancing.

431
527
273
562

852

Reception of the shepherd: Towards evening, when the animals are expected back from the pasture, the father or the mother takes the infant in his arms and takes it out in front of the gate of the yard, where they meet the homecoming herd. The shepherd must give the child some money, and in return the father gives him a loaf of bread which he must eat immediately. This custom is called "to welcome the shepherd"; the Chinese say "to welcome the sheep" (2). -- The guests

431

553

171
846

2. [Foreign text p. 622.] The reception of the shepherd is also found among the Chinese, just as the termination of the confinement generally is almost the same among them. In the region of Hei-tsuei-tzu (Hsi-ch'uan) I learned from the missionary there, P. Frick, that the people place the child in the manger so that it may later own many herds and become a good horseman. This custom could not be confirmed for the Tujen.

[621 cont.]
852 553 take no further notice of this ceremony, but drink and dance far into the night; then they gradually scatter. Only the closest relatives of the young mother stay until the next day.

[622]

192 846 To be in childbed: sara sōdzi = she sits out the month; tsuo yüeh (Chin.).

To terminate the confinement: sara durgeni = she terminates the month.

ch'u-yüeh (Chin.) = to step out of the month.

man-yüeh (Chin.) = to fulfill the month.

[852] Reception of the shepherd: asdzi dzēlie-; ying-yang (Chin.) = to welcome the sheep.

[Page 622 contains the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

852 527

2. The First Birthday*

* See "Notes," pp. 623-625 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

[787] On the first birthday the father puts the child on the kang and places various things before it. From the object that the child [302] grasps it can be seen what it will become in later life. After [778] that its hair is cut and this is hung on the arrow of good fortune.

[623]

Details

852
7817 The oracle: On the morning of the anniversary of the birth, the father brings the child into the main house or into the kitchen and sets it on the kang. He places a kang table with three little baked loaves of bread, five steamed loaves of bread, and a cup of tea in front of it. Next to it, for a boy, he puts a span-long bow with a small arrow, brush, paper, and money; for a girl, these are needle, yarn, ell, scissors, knife. The three little baked loaves signify the three Buddhistic world-
[776] spirits (2). The five steamed loaves symbolize the five blessings

2. [Foreign text p. 624.] It could not be ascertained which three names are individually involved. sañrēdzi (Illuminated One) is the title for the Tulkus; cf. section, "The Lama-reception," and Note 6 below.

[777] of good fortune: age, wealth, health, virtue, blessed death (1).
[171]

1. [Foreign text pp. 623.] Chinese and Tibetan conceptions are mixed in the explanation of these loaves, for the Chinese also have this birthday ceremony. The Chinese proverb, wu fu p'eng shou, the five good-fortune-[624] (signs) hold up the age-(sign). A custom at New Year's: The sign shou is written in the center of a red paper, and in a circle around it the five signs for good fortune, fu.

The parents give the child some of the bread to eat and let it drink tea, or the mother suckles it. Then they ask it to grasp at the things on the kang table. If the boy grasps
[778] money, he will be an industrious tradesman; if he seizes bow

[623 cont.]

852 and arrow, he will be a strong warrior; if he grasps brush and
787 paper, he will be a learned scholar. It is similar for the girl.
778 The object that is chosen by the child is hung on the arrow of good fortune (3).

3. [Foreign text p. 624.] Concerning the arrow of good fortune, cf. the appropriate section. Tying the object grasped by the child to the arrow is supposed to preserve the child's strength so it will develop in the direction indicated. On the arrow of good fortune in the yard of my informant, I saw a large number of miniature bows, arrows, and balls of hair of his children and grandchildren.

302 The haircut: The child still has downy hair because it
852 has not been shorn since birth. Now the father or some other man takes it in his arms and takes it into the yard. There another man shaves its head, regardless of whether it is a boy or a girl. One or two tufts of hair remain standing on the back of
[778] the head (4). The father twists the hair between the palms of

4. [Foreign text p. 624.] The tufts of hair that are left were probably intended as beginnings for the later hairdress (queue). It could not be determined whether they might perhaps have something to do with a consecrated Buddha-tuft, as, for example, among the Lolo; cf. Lin Yüeh-hwa, I-chia. In any case the tufts of hair are nowadays shaved off again. Probably the tufts, like the custom as a whole, were taken over from the Chinese. The Chinese call these children's hair-tufts tsung-chiao

[171]

[628 cont.]

302
852

[Note on foreign text p. 624 cont.]
(roughly = little head horn). To what extent they thereby characterize childhood is shown by the expression tsung-chiao chih chiao, friendship since childhood (literally, little head horn connection).

[778] his hands into a little roll and twirls one thread out of it with which he ties it to the arrow of good fortune." Formerly these strands were drawn through a coin with a hole in it, and this, together with the ball of hair, was hung on the arrow. The hair of the children thus remain on the arrow of good fortune throughout their lives.

852
[782] Then the father goes with the child and the arrow of good fortune into the yard and makes the great incense offering. On this occasion the child kowtows to the sky for the first time. After the offering the arrow is taken back to its original place (5).

[527]
[177]
852
171

5. [Foreign text pp. 624-625.]
The first birthday celebration was evidently taken over from the Chinese there. An example of how it is practiced elsewhere in China, taken from J. Doolittle, Social Life (p. 90), will be presented here for the sake of clarity: "On the first birthday the mother is presented with another thank-offering, and other gifts of clothing and food are received by the grandmother on the maternal side. If it is a boy, a pair of shoes and a cap are found among other items of clothing; if it is a girl, then arm bands and head ornaments are also found among other articles of clothing. The preparations for the thank-offering

[623 cont.]

852
171

[Note on foreign text pp. 624-625 cont.]
are carried out by the grandmother on the maternal side ..." etc. "Before this festival is celebrated, a large bamboo sieve, such as the farmers use for screening the grain, is placed on the table before the ancestral tablets, where incense and candles have already been lighted. On this sieve are placed a series of coins, a pair of scissors, an ell measure, a copper mirror, brush, inks, paper, inkstone, one or two books, the abacus, a gold or silver ornamental object or some other implement, fruit, etc. The child wears the new clothes which it has just been given and is put on the sieve amidst the objects. Now it is a question of what the child grasps first, holds, and plays with. This moment has an exceedingly great fascination for the parents and assembled friends. It is said that the object the child seizes first indicates its later activities, profession, character, and position in the world. If the child is a boy and seizes a book or an object that has something to do with literature, such as a brush or ink, then one assumes that he will be a great scholar. If he grasps the money or [625] gold and silver objects, then he will be famous on account of his wealth and skill in acquiring money. Once in the Sung dynasty a girl, when she was a year old and had been set on the sieve, first grasped two little miniature weapons with one hand and with the other two vessels such as are used for certain offerings on state occasions. After a few minutes she laid these things

[623 cont.]

852
171

[Note on foreign text pp. 624-625 cont.] down again and grasped a seal. She then no longer paid any attention to the things that lay before her. And now the result: this girl became chancellor of an imperial realm." -- The oracle at this birthday celebration corresponds essentially with that of the Tujen.

527

The Tujen celebrate birthdays otherwise, too, both men and women, but only from the forty-fifth year on. A feast is held, at which all the relatives take part. As presents, nine loaves of bread are customary. Eight steamed loaves signify the eight genii, pa-hsien, and one loaf represents the god of age, shou-hsing (star of age). Towards sundown, all go outside to the graves and give the ancestral offering. Then they go home and drink and dance into the night. -- As the names show, this custom is also borrowed from the Chinese. The Tujen originally had no ancestral offering; to the Chinese, on the other hand, the arrow of good fortune and the dance with song are foreign.

[769]

[177]
[769]

Word List

192
[844] To give birth: tōrō-.
[527] Birthday: tōrōdzān udur; or contracted, tōrōdzūdur.
To celebrate the birthday: tōrōdzūdur noġdzi-.
That woman has given birth: nie bieri tōrōdzia.
When were you born? tsini kidzie tōrōwa?
Yes, I am really celebrating: noġdzidza ligunadzi.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

beat drums and play mandolins, all the younger wives and their husbands pursue each other, jumping over the fire heaps, merrymaking. No wives or husbands would miss this practice, for the tradition goes that it provides fecundity. However, the Yassa forbids jumping over the fire.[20]

Professor N. Poppe notes that among the Mongols the spirit of the fire is represented riding a he-goat, and that the he-goat is a symbol of fecundity, as Plano Carpini already noted.[21] This note of Professor Poppe evidences the existence of the fact that a relation existed between the fire god and fecundity in olden times. The Monguors seem not to know the existence of the god of the fire riding the he-goat, although they know that the hearth god secures fecundity. The hearth god also procures fecundity among the Buriats.[22]

FIRE AS THE PROTECTOR OF THE CHILDREN

The god of the hearth not only provides fecundity to the daughters-in-law, but it protects their children. On the second of the second moon is performed the rite of consecration of the children to the god of the hearth. In the very early morning, before boiling water for washing and making tea, the mother roasts some handfuls of spelt in the cauldron and after them some handfuls of peas. Husband and wife spread them devoutly in the courtyard in front of the door. Then the elders clip some hair from the foreheads of the children under thirteen years of age, and cut the nails on their fingers. Hair and nail parings are carefully put in a cup and covered with a red cloth. The cup is placed before the picture of the hearth god and a copper coin placed on top of it. All members of the family prostrate themselves nine times, holding incense sticks in their joined hands, and the incense sticks are then fixed before the picture of the hearth god. On the twenty-fourth of the twelfth moon, at the time the god starts its journey to Heaven, the contents of the cup are burned in the hearth, together with the picture of the god. The Monguors explain this as the yearly rite of consecration of the children to the hearth god.

CULT OF THE HEARTH GOD

Rite at the End of the Year

The most important rites in honor of the spirit of the hearth are performed at its departure for Heaven, and at its coming back from Heaven, for so important a benefactor must receive the highest honors possible, and the most affectionate greetings. This is true all over China. Men do not attend these rites.

The spirit of the hearth of the Chinese starts its journey to heaven on the twenty-third of the last moon of the year, on horseback or on a mule. The spirit of

[20] Schmidt, *op. cit.* 10: 73.

[21] Poppe, *op. cit.* 2: 135. See also n. 15, above, for Agni, the Hindu god, riding a ram.

[22] *Ibid.*, 301.

[p. 121(B)]

/The Monguors/

N *563 of the k'ang. In the presence of the grandfather, the daughters-in-law may not sit, even on the floor.

M 576 [264] [603] [554] [561] The Mongours regard it as an insult to the T'u-ssu to open a conversation or keep one's hat on in his presence. It is considered a mark of respect to remove the hat while visiting with a person of position or rank.

The Mongours use the same term in addressing members of the same generation, with a differentiation according to sex. Older persons are addressed as "big," younger ones as "little."

M [574] It is disrespectful to present a cracked bowl to a guest. The same bowl is used for serving both food and tea, and it must always be filled to the brim. One never presents the bowl with one hand, although when pouring tea, one may hold the pot in the right hand.

One is not allowed to step over a person who is lying down.

Father and daughter must always keep some distance apart. A married woman may remove her hat when visiting in her own mother's home, but she must always have her head decorated and wear a long gown or skirt in the presence of her parents-in-law or their guests.

N *563 i. Celebrations and festivals

Feasting and celebration usually follow the rites of ancestor worship. A large tent is pitched on the open ground below the cemetery, and here the T'u-ssu sits among the nobles, elders and other prominent men of the clan to receive pledges of renewed allegiance from his subjects. As a master of ceremonies shouts directions, the chief and elders of each village, garbed in there ceremonial robes, come up in turn to pay homage to their T'u-ssu. Then a dinner is spread for the T'u-ssu and the prominent members of the clan. Some sit in the tent, some outside on felt rugs at small tables. A whole sheep is presented to the T'u-ssu, then divided among all present. Wine is drunk, and the festive spirit mounts. Girls dance and sing; lamas from the monasteries wrestle; youngsters race on unsaddled horses. It is a great day for all, but it seldom ends without quarreling and fighting. Under the rising influence of liquor, clothes are torn, heads banged and bones broken. According to tradition, no damage suits may be brought for loss or injuries incurred on this day.

M 614 996 N *563 M 614 527 273

N *563 M 562 [558] [852] [782] [852] Boys are preferred to girls in Mongour society. The festival at the birth of the first son and the selection of his name is particularly important. The Mongours consider the lack of a son as punishment for sins of the parents in some previous incarnation. The sonless woman lives a miserable life, as she has no status in the family or in society. A sonless couple will hire lamas to pray for them, and vow to make long pilgrimages or give alms lavishly if only they are granted a son. Thus the birth of the

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 562 852 [553] first son is an occasion for great rejoicing. Various rituals are performed in connection with the name-giving, and the announcement of the birth to the grandparents on both sides. Everyone in the village is invited to a party, and relatives and friends bring gifts for the baby.

The birth of daughters and younger sons requires less elaborate celebration. Invitations are sent to the child's maternal M [203] [604] [603] [553] uncles to be present at the name-giving ceremony, which is performed by the grandfather. It is thought that a woman's brothers have a powerful influence over the family into which her child is born, and therefore they must be notified properly.

M [184] Poor families also celebrate the birth of the first son, although the ceremonies are less elaborate. If the family cannot afford the expense of a feast, rich people of the village often help them. It is not right to allow the birth of a first son to go uncelebrated, for he is the new link in the ancestral chain, and it is he who will grow up to make the sacrifices to the clan ancestor, an important concern to the Mongours.

N *563 M 302 [593] [888] j. Beard-growing

A man may start to grow a beard on the first day of the first or second moon of the new year after his thirtieth birthday, but only if his parents are dead. He must not grow a beard while his parents are alive, as it would remind his parents of their advanced age and approaching death.

k. Wedding, funeral and grave

N *563 M 764 [191] [199] The customs surrounding weddings, funerals and the construction of graves are almost the same among the Mongours as those practiced in traditional China. Their burial, however, is unique. Under the influence of Lama Buddhism, it has become the general custom of the Mongours to cremate their dead. The funeral rites are carried out by lamas. In the olden days, however, the T'u-ssu and the nobles were always buried.

N *563 M 843 562 4. Popular beliefs

Because of the importance of having a son, the pregnant woman is full of hopeful expectation. Everyone in the village knows about the coming event, and is interested in the sex of the child. It is believed that a male child lies on the left side of the womb, a female child on the right. The pregnant woman is watched carefully when she enters a doorway. If she steps over the threshold with her right foot, she is thought to be carrying a boy; if with her left foot, a girl. The logic behind this notion is that a boy makes the left side heavier than the right, so the mother will instinctively raise her right foot to make a step upward.

N *563 M 553 If several children in a family have died in infancy, the head of a family blessed with many children will be invited to name a newborn child, in the hope that some of his good luck may pass on the luckless family.